

A
S E R M O N

Preached at

MANCHESTER,

Upon the 9th of *September*,

Being the

Day of Thanksgiving

For our Deliverance from the

Late Conspiracy.

By *E. FORENESS*,

Presbyter of the Church of *ENGLAND*.

L O N D O N,

Printed by *Miles Flesher*, for *William Abbington*, near
Ludgate, 1683.

610

1111

T O T H E
Inhabitants of *MANCHESTER*.

I*T was the desire of several of you, that this Sermon should be printed, a desire I could not well deny: The Attention, that was given when I spoke; and the general Approbation afterwards of what I spoke, made me hope that my Sermon did in some measure answer my design, which was not to revile but reason men into Honest and Loyal Principles: for which purpose I have since added some enlargements, particularly about the Original and Divinity of Government: not as if I would insinuate any thing against you, or had the least intention of fixing an Odium upon that place, wherein I had a considerable part of my Education, and near to which I had my Birth: but hope, that whatever malignity the factious Ascendent of this age may have let fall amongst you, it has infected but a few; and that your LOYALTY will for ever remain UNSHAKEN, and stand as firm as the Rock upon which your Town is Built.*

The Government you live under, is of God, Sacred and Divine: it is agreeable to the Fundamental Laws of this Nation; and no other form was ever known amongst us, except in the late times of blood and Confusion: and yet we have had, and its well if we have not still such, who would subvert and undermine it, men of Turbulent unquiet Spirits, who if they have not their wills, would prove as factious and uneasy under any sort of Government, as under this of a Monarchy. And these are they who generally seem to be the deepest concern'd for the security of our Religion: The Protestant Interest is pretended, and it may be some of them are in good

The Epistle Dedicatory.

*earnest. But believe me, Sirs, there are other Emis-
saries besides those from Rome, and that altogether as
busie and dangerous, and of which you ought to be alto-
gether as carefull; they will take the advantage of your
Religious Inclinations, and insensibly betray you into ill
Opinions and thoughts of things. For give me leave to
tell you, that there is no Temptation more prevailing
and dangerous, than the Insinuations of men of Reli-
gion. An honest minded man is the soonest ensnar'd by
such he takes to be honest and pious. The greatest He-
reticks (setting aside the Gnosticks of the primitive
times) were men of great Piety and Zeal, and by that
means gain'd so many Profelytes and followers; to in-
stance onely in one of our own Island, viz. Pelagius; he
was a man of unblemisht Piety and Devotion, and by
that means as well as by his Learning and pretences of
Reason, infected not onely Britain, but a great part
of the Christian world, with that pernicious Heresie a-
gainst the Divine Grace and Assistance. I onely men-
tion this, that you should not have mens persons in ad-
miration, nor suffer your selves to be imposed upon, either
in reference to Church or State, by any man whatever,
however Holy or Strict he may appear in his Life and
Conversation, but prove the Spirits, try all Things, and
hold fast that which is good. In fine, study to be quiet,
and do your own business, Fear the Lord and the King,
and meddle not with them that are given to change.
For their Calamity shall rise suddenly, and who know-
eth the Ruine of them both, (Prov. 24. 21, 22.)*

*May Almighty God give a blessing to this small imper-
fect piece, and make it usefull and serviceable to you,
and I do assure you, the whole design is answer'd, of Sirs,
your true, unfeigned Friend,*

E. Foreness.

Rom. 13. 2.

Whosoever therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.

THere is scarce any thing has occasion'd more hatred to the *orthodox Clergy* of the Church of *England*, than their frequent preaching up Submission to Government, and to *Our Government* as by Law establish'd both in Church and State; an Argument one would think, could never be unwelcome to such as lov'd their King; and the peace of their Country, nor be thought unseasonable by any, who have but in the least taken notice how boldly men of late talk'd and printed too all the old principles of *DISLOYALTY* and *REBELLION*. It was sure high time to press obedience in the Pulpit, when there was so little in our practice, and the Generality were grown so insolent, that *to be offended with the Government*, was an Argument of a *good Patriot*, and they were the most acceptable to the people, who were the most obnoxious to their Governours; when *FACTION* roll'd up and down the Kingdom with a train portending more dire Effects than the longest blaze of the most prodigious Comet, and became so potent and formidable, that had not that God who *stilleth the noise of the Seas, stilled also the Tumult of the people*, This day instead of being a *Festival*, a day of Thanks, Joy and Rejoycing, might have been a day

B

of

of *Confusion*, a day of Sorrow, Mourning and Lamentation. But for ever blessed be our God, who hath disperst the Clouds that were gathering over us, and caus'd the Light of his Countenance to shine upon us. He hath defeated the machinations and deliver'd us from the designs of these men; He hath once more secur'd the Throne and Life of our Sovereign, and by this his gracious providence hath signaliz'd his concern for *Authority*, and opposition to *Rebellion* and *Resistance*. *Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, &c.*

There are some especial times wherein men are more capable of Instruction, and Receptive of Truth than others, and my hopes are, that this may be one of those times; The present Circumstances in which our Nation is, may by the blessing of God have this good effect, as to be a means to open our Eyes, and let in that Light, which we have hitherto refused.

I shall therefore make use of this opportunity to represent unto you,

First of all, The Original and Divinity of Government, it is from God, His Ordinance.

Secondly, Explain to you this Doctrine of *Non-resistance*, and,

Thirdly, Shew you the ill Consequences of the contrary Doctrine of *Resisting the power*. *Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the Ordinance of God, and they that resist (WHOSOEVER THEY BE, and UNDER WHAT PRETENCE SOEVER) shall receive to themselves damnation.* But,

First, Of the Original and Divinity of Government, *He that resisteth the power, resisteth the Ordinance of God*: By power here is meant Empire, Magistracy and Dominion, and connotes the person or persons invested therewith; This power, which is in the Original

ginal *Ἐξουσία*, is distinguished from *Δύναμις*, *Δύναμις* signifying bare force and might, but *Ἐξουσία* a just Supremacy or Government, and of this we are to treat; and if we look backwards to the first Rise of Government, we shall find it to be as ancient as the World, nay more ancient, if we will believe what some if not most of the *Greek* Fathers have asserted, *viz.* That the Angels were created long before the World, who certainly were under the Command and Government of God their great Creatour. But not to meddle with this Kingdom of Spirits; Let us consider the Original of Visible and Earthly Sovereignty, and this was in Paradise it self, that wherein God invested Man as soon as he was created. He was made Sovereign of the World, and all things therein were subjected to his Dominion, *Gen. 1. 26.* He was constituted sole Lord and Proprietour of all, and all the right that accru'd afterwards to others was by *Donation* or *Cession*. Man indeed being created single, and there being as yet no other persons besides *Adam*, his Authority could extend no farther than to these inferiour Creatures; but as soon as God had made the woman, he brought her to the man, and gave her to him, and he in token of her Subjection imposeth a name upon her, *viz.* that of *Woman*, imposing of Names being an Argument of Authority; so that from that very time there were any persons capable of being govern'd, there has been a Government. Mankind was distinguished not onely by *Sex* but by *Power*, which at first could be no larger than a private Family, but still as their numbers encreas'd, so did the *power* of their Prince, which was *Adam* during his Life, and afterwards *Seth* and so on, the first-born of every Family being as *Jacob* styles *Reuben*, the excellency of *Dignity*, and the excellency of *power*, the Supreme Governour over the rest;

and this right of *Primogeniture* is founded or acknowledged in *Gen. 4. 7.* where God tells *Cain* concerning *Abel*, *Unto thee*, says he, *shall be his desire, and thou shalt rule over him.* Whether God did here positively institute this Superiority of the *first-born*, or onely recognize that right and title which he had by *Nature*, is not much material to determine, though this last seems to me most probable, God hereby telling *Cain*, that though *Abel's* offering was more acceptable than his, yet this should not any way abate of his *Natural prerogative and Authority*, but still *Abel* should be subject to him, and he should rule over him. God has indeed sometimes inverted this Order, and made the Elder to serve the Younger, but this is no Argument that we should; it being a case particularly reserv'd to God, the principles of *Nature* telling us that the *first-born* should have privileges over and above the younger: and from this I date the Original of Government: It was *Patriarchal*, founded in the very *Law of Nature*, which is the very *Law of God*, that *Νόμος ἀγγραφος*, that unwritten Law, whereby God did at first mostly govern the World.

Mankind was never without some sort of *Government* or other, for indeed it could never have subsisted without it; in the most Savage and Barbarous Countries, there was still some kind of *Superiority and Dependancy*, though broken and confus'd.

And according to this Natural institution of *Government*, God hath expressly appear'd in it by his Providence. We are told, *Gen. 10. 5.* *By these were the Isles of the Gentiles divided in their Lands; every one after their Tongue, after their Families in their Nations.* Learned men from hence conjecture, and that not without Reason, that the world was divided not by chance but by an especial *Providence*; it was regularly

larly parted amongst the Sons of *Noah*, and the business was so order'd, that particular Countries were divided out to such particular Families, as had such and such particular Languages. * *Cedrenus* tells us, that *Noah* divided the World amongst his three Sons *χρτὴ* * f. 2. as he is quoted. *Δεῖον* *δηλονότι χρτισμὸν*, by some *divine Oracle* or *Revelation*; but whether it were so or no, no doubt but the *providence* of God was much concern'd in it; Mankind growing so numerous as that they could not well be under the Government of one, they were divided and subdivided into several parts and districts under their several Kings and Princes. Having thus given you an account of the Original of *Government*; that it is founded in *Nature*; Superiority and Inferiority, Authority and Subjection, being Relations as Natural as High and Low, as Great and Small; it follows that it must be from God (the *Law of Nature* being no other than the *Law* or *Appointment of God*;) as will more fully appear if we consider the Declarations God has been pleas'd to make concerning this matter in the Scriptures. In them Magistrates are styl'd *Gods* and *the Sons of God*; they mostly resembling God in their *power* and *Majesty*, and being the next in order to him of any of these visible Beings in the World. It is a saying amongst the *Arabians*, that *the King is the shadow of God*, and he is certainly the nearest similitude of him, and does the most illustriously represent him of any sublunary Creature. A principal part of the Image of God consists in *Dominion*, as God is an Universal Governour; so Kings and Princes are particular subordinate Governours under him and for him; hence the *Throne of the King* is said to be the *Throne of God*; and they are said to be *his Kings* and *his Anointed*; *By me* (says the Wisdom of God) *Kings reign, and Princes decree Justice*, Prov. 8. 15. and

Christoph.
Arnold. Ep.
Ded. prefixt
to Rupertus
his *Historia
Universalis*.

Usher, Pow-
er of the
Prince.

and our Saviour tells us, *John* 10. 35. that they were called Gods, because unto them the word of God came, i. e. it was his Appointment and Commandment that they should rule in his name and in his room. But a more full account of the mind of God we cannot well have, than what this 13th. chapter of the *Romans* does afford us, we are told in as full and plain words as can be, that the powers that be are ordain'd of God, and that he that resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God, and in the 6th. v. the Magistrates are called *Ἀστυνοὶ* &c the Ministers of God, and it has been observ'd that this word *Ἀστυνοὶ* is in the Scriptures, at least the *N. T.* never attributed to any but such as have some sacred function either immediately instituted and prescribed by God himself, or in its own nature agreeable to his will.

All this it may be will be confest, it being acknowledged by most, that Government in general is from God, of divine Appointment and Institution, but the great dispute is about the Specification thereof, whether any particular form be an ordinance of God exclusively to others: there are those who deny it, and assert that though Government in *Thesi* be of God, yet the choice of a particular form is of man, no more than a Humane Ordinance; that it is indifferent by the Laws of God, whether we set up this or that particular form. It may be look'd upon as presumption to condemn all other forms of Government as sinful and wicked, yet this I shall venture to say, that Monarchy puts in the fairest plea's of any to be *Juris Divini* of Divine Right, and that exclusively to all the rest, for to me it is certain,

First of all, That this is the most natural and ancient way of Government in the World, *Natura commenta est Regem*, says *Seneca*, a King is the Invention and dictate

De Clem. l.
1. cap. 19.

dictate of Nature it self, and was indeed the first sort of Government that was ever in use either in Heaven or Earth. This might be prov'd by various quotations, but they are needless, it being in a manner confest, that no other sort of Government did prevail in the world for the first three thousand years, but *Monarchy*. Other ways and forms were chiefly owing to the *Grecians*, a volatile, unstable and giddy sort of people. In the *East*, those parts, where the world was first inhabited, they were all along govern'd by *Kings* and *Monarches*, and so are to this day, a strong presumption that the *first* Government of the world and the *most natural* is the Regal or Kingly. But

Secondly, It may be farther observ'd, that there is in Scripture no command (at least exprest) to obey any other form of Government than *that of Kings*, nor is there any other form of Government mention'd or taken notice of unless you will except that of the *Gibeonites*. It is to Kings that we are to be subject, *Fear the Lord and the King*, says the Wiseman, *Prov. 24. 21.* and St. Peter exhorts to *submit our selves to every Ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the King as Supreme, or unto Governours as unto them that are sent by him*, 1 Pet. 2. 13. Neither our Saviour, nor any of his Apostles, nor any of the primitive Fathers, that ever I heard of, did fault the Government of their times, which was *Despotical* and *Monarchical*, but oblige all to obedience and submission.

One of the greatest objections against this privilege and advantage of Kingly Government, is the account we have in *Samuel*, chap. 8. how that God was angry with the *Israelites* for demanding of a King, which supposes, First that they were not govern'd

vern'd by Kings before ; And Secondly , That when God did give them a King it was in Anger , it was a Judgment, no mercy. As to the first I answer, that the *Jewish* Government was a *Theocracy*, it was God himself that fought their Battels , gave them their Laws, and in all emergent difficulties , appointed what was to be done , so that he was their *proper King* and *especial Governour* ; the *Judges*, or the *Sandhedrim*, acted onely as Deputies under him. But we may answer farther, that before *Saul* was made King, the name of *King* was not in use, but that of *Judges*, yet those *Judges* had *Regal power*, and were in their respective times under God *Supreme Governours* of the *Jewish Nation* ; and the form of their

*Quenam erat reipub. forma sub
Judicibus ? Resp. Monarchica.
Synops. Crit. in lib. Jud. ad
init.*

Government even in those days, *when there was no King in Israel*, was *Monarchical*. And as to the Second , God's being angry with them for demanding a King ; It is very true he was so, and he had reason to be so ; not as if the thing had been absolutely unlawfull or inconvenient , for God Almighty himself gave orders to them about chusing of a King, *Deut. 17. 14, 15.* but their fault in this particular case seems to me to have been *their demanding of a King at this time.*

Now that God had set *Samuel* over them , he was in a peculiar way appointed by God to be their Governour, so that in rejecting him , they rejected the Authority of God ; Had *Samuel* been dead and the Government vacant, I am apt to think, there would have been no sin in demanding a King, whereas now, as the case stood, whilst *Samuel* was alive, to depose him (which in effect they did by demanding a King,) was to contemn that Authority , which had set him over them ; and upon this account , God might

might well be angry with them, and give them a King in his wrath, that is, such a King as should be a plague and punishment to them.

All these things consider'd, they are not so much to be blam'd and look'd upon as *Court-Parasites*, who assert *Monarchy* exclusively to all other sorts of Government to be *Jure Divino*. There are those who would fain persuade the world, that there are none but a few of the younger and meaner sort of the *Clergy*, such as frequent publick Houses, and want the *Complements of their preferments*, that are of this opinion; whereas it has been declar'd by a whole Convocation, Anno 1640. That the most High and Sacred order of Kings is of Divine Right, being the ordinance of God himself, founded in the prime Laws of Nature, and clearly establisht by expresse texts both of the Old and New Testament, and that a Supreme power is given to this most excellent order by God himself in Scriptures. This was the Declaration of our Bishops, and as we have reason to believe, the learnedst and gravest of our Divines.

Constitut. and
Can. Ecclesiastical.
A. 1640.

But supposing this sort of Government could plead no greater Authority than the other, yet to us under our Circumstances, to oppose it is the same, as to oppose the Authority of God, it being the Government of our Nation, approv'd of God by so long a Succession, and we being under the obligation of our Laws, and of those Oaths, whereby we have after the most solemn manner engag'd our Souls to God, for the maintenance and preservation thereof, so that he that resisteth this power, resisteth the ordinance of God.

From what has already been discours'd we may infer,

C

First,

First, That Kingly Government is no Usurpation on the prerogative of Christ.

Secondly, That Kings derive not their power from the people; and therefore

Thirdly, There can be no Escheat or forfeiture of the power to the people.

First, That Kingly Government is no Usurpation on the prerogative of Christ. One might have imagin'd it impossible for any one that reads the Scriptures with a design to understand them, to have thought otherwise, and yet there have been those, and that in great numbers, who have upon this account, viz. its inconsistency with the Royal prerogative of Christ, cry'd down and oppos'd all Magistracy. Of this sort were the Anabaptists in Germany, who taking hold of some loose unwary expressions of Luther, in his book of *Christian Liberty*, thought themselves exempted from all Civil and Secular as well as Ecclesiastical Power and Jurisdiction; And of the same opinion there have been some amongst our selves, who would have no King, but King Jesus, follow no Banner but that of the Lamb, and damn'd all Magistracy as wicked and Antichristian; as if our Religion did supersede the necessity of Government and Obedience, and our Saviour had banisht all power and Authority out of the world; whereas there is nothing so plain, as that he intermeddles no farther in these matters, than to tie the bond of obedience the faster upon us: He commands us to give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, as well as unto God the things that are God's; he appears before the Judgment-Seat of Pontius Pilate, submits to the sentence, and dyes an accursed and ignominious death. His Apostles were mighty carefull to tread in his steps, and give no offence to those in Authority, and therefore submitted themselves; and exhort

Spanhem. Di-
atriber Histor.
de Ortis, &c.
Anabapt.

exhort all to Submission even to the *greatest Tyrants*. Had the *Magistracy* been an *Usurpation* on the *prerogative* of their *Master*, they would never have betray'd his cause by silence, much more have countenanc'd the Invasion of it, by encouraging all to submit to the Magistracy, and that *for the Lord's sake*; they would never sure have told as they do here in the Text, that the *power was the ordinance of God*, and that *they that resist, should receive to themselves damnation*. Our Saviour indeed was a *King*, and had all power given to him in *Heaven and in Earth*, but then his *Kingdom*, as he himself tells us, was *not of this world*. He was to reign in the minds and Souls of men; His power was to exert it self, not so much in *external pomp and Empire*, as in the *Internal sway and Government* of the Spirits of mankind; so that by this his *Spiritual Kingdom*, he does not invade the office of the civil Magistrate, nor take the power out of his hand, but left and continu'd him in the same State he found him.

Nor by the way, does our Saviour's *Spiritual Authority* exclude the *Magistrate* from intermeddling even in *Spiritual Concerns*, as some of the next Country have pretended. The making good Laws for the establishment and preservation of Religion, and the seeing them put in Execution, is no encroachment upon our Saviour's Spiritual power and Authority; for the *Magistrates* in such cases act onely *under him*, and for *him*, and it is part of their office to take care that *we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all Godliness and Honesty*, which cannot be done without concerning themselves in matters of Religion. In short, *Magistracy* is the *Ordinance and Institution* of God, design'd for the good and benefit of the world, and therefore, is by no means vacated by our Saviour, nor can be sup-

Vide Kid
and Kings
Speeches.

pos'd while it keeps within its proper Sphere, to intrench upon any *privilege* or *prerogative* of his. But,

Secondly, It follows farther from what has been said, *that Kings derive not their power from the people*; They are the *Ordinance of God*, no *Ordinance of man*, their Lives and Beings are from God, and so is their Authority. In all the accounts we have in *Scripture* about *Government*, we shall find that God is principally interest'd; All that the people were to doe, was to submit to the divine Order and Appointment. *Thou shalt in any wise set him King over thee whom the Lord thy God shall chuse*, Deut. 17. 15. they were not to chuse for themselves, but rest satisfied with that designation God would be pleas'd to make. The power is from *God*, and therefore solely at *his* disposal, not the *peoples*. He may indeed convey this *power* by what ways and means his providence sees fit, and accordingly he has done it by several ways; there are, for instance, *Elective Kingdoms* as well as *Successive*, but even in those places where there is an *Election* of the *Supreme Magistrate*, though he may be *nominated* by the *people*, yet he is *authoriz'd* by *God*; His Authority is wholly owing to the divine providence. *Nemo dat quod in se non habet*, is a known Maxim, no body can bestow upon another, what he hath not himself; now the people never had *Supreme Authority*, were never invest'd with the *Power of the Sword*, and for that reason could not confer it upon another; and therefore (as has been well remark'd) *All the people can doe, is to hold forth the person to the power, if God have so in his providence order'd it, not give the power to the person*; in short, they never had it themselves, and therefore were never in a capacity of transferring it over to another. If it be said that they had such a power,

Supreme power
and com-
mon Right.

power, let them shew their *Grant* and produce their *Letters Patents*; Search all the *Scriptures* and most ancient *Records*, you shall not find the least footstep of it, nor so much as the least claim laid to it for many ages after the *Creation*. These latter ages indeed as being more quick-sighted than their great Grand-Fathers, have made some pretences to it: But the strongest Arguments they have hitherto found out to back their Cause, have been *force* and *violence*, all their Endeavours of Reason are weak and trifling, built upon *false* and *precarious Hypotheses*, and notorious mistakes about the *Original of mankind*, and the *division of the Earth amongst the Sons of Noah*. They talk much of a *Pact* or *Contract* between Prince and people, and from thence would derive the *Original of Government*; But if you ask them, when, and where, and by whom, or how this *Pact* or *Covenant* was made or consented to, you will find them as silent, or at least speak as little to the purpose as the *Man in the Moon*. It is an easie matter to make *suppositions*, and draw up *Schemes of Government*, but *proof* and *Authority* is that we require, and when they produce this for the *people*, we will make court to the *Multi-tude*, and pay our obedience to the *Rabble*. And if men would be quiet till that be done, we need not fear but our Government will last as long as the Sun and Moon shall endure. Another thing they suppose in this Controversie, *viz.* the *equality of all men by Nature*, is a thing was never yet in the world, but contradicts plain *matter of fact* and the *History* of the *original of Government*; for there has been always an *Inequality* amongst men, and as we differ in strength and proportion or other *Natural Abilities*, so we do in reference to *Authority and Subjection*: Some are born to govern, and some are born to be governed, and that

that by the *prime Laws of Nature* antecedent to any *positive Pact* or *Contract* between the Governours and Governed: from all which it follows,

Thirdly, *That there can be no Escheat or forfeiture of this power to the people.* For if the Prince did not derive it from the *people*, it can never return to *them* but to *God* who first gave it, to him it may be forfeited, and he may as he sees fit take the forfeiture, and dispossess the greatest *Monarchs* of their thrones and lives. Thus he dealt with *Saul*, and several of the *Jewish Kings*; Nay there is no *Nation* in the world but what can make proof of this by their own *Histories*. But now though a *Prince* may lose his right in reference to *God*, yet he does not in reference to man, the people have nothing to doe with him, he being *God's immediate Officer* and alone under his cognizance and disposal; and though now he be not particularly *nominated from Heaven*, and *anointed by a Prophet*, yet his Right and Title may be as good as theirs was, and his person altogether as sacred and inviolable. So that however he acts, he is by virtue of the *Imperial Law* and *prerogative of Princes* no ways accountable to the *people*, but to *God* alone, who invested him with this *Sacred power and Authority*. And indeed sad would be the case of *Princes*, were they subject to the power and correction of the *Mobile*, they would be onely *Titular* and *Nominal Kings*, reign by *Courtesie*, and be daily exposed to the Frenzy of the *Multitude*. If once the people come to be imposed upon (which is no difficult matter) by some designing ambitious man, to believe, that their Prince is either unfit for *Government*, or does not govern according to *Law*, but goes about to invade their *Rights* and *Properties*, must not this upon every turn throw all things into Confusion? for the *Commonalty* are
Rash

Rash and Furious, seldom stay to consider things before it be too late, but are hurried on by a kind of ὁρμή ἀλογον, a *Brutish Impetus* and violence, many times to act the dismaldest *Tragedies* that ever the Sun saw : for how many *Kings* and *Princes* and *Great men* have fallen a Sacrifice to the rage, fury, and inconsiderateness of the *people*? And how many *Kingdoms* have been involv'd in blood and slaughter, till at length one party prevails to the Ruine and Slavery of all the rest? There cannot therefore be a more pernicious *Maxim* to the peace and tranquillity of Government than this, *That Kings receive their power from the people, and that in case of Male-administration they are accountable to the people, and may escheat and forfeit it into their hands.* This is thought to be the likeliest way to keep *Princes* in awe, and make them more just and regular in their *Government*; whereas it rather seems a likelier way to make them *Tyrants*, to disable the people and secure themselves in their *Thrones* and *Dominions*; for upon this supposition of the *peoples power over them*, they will still be jealous of them, and truly they have but reason, considering how uneasy most are under even *the best of Governments*, how ready every body is from the man in the *Gold-chain* to the man in the *Stall*, to find fault with the management of affairs, and how attentively they listen to, and reflect upon all the pretended *Miscarriages* of their *Governours*: So that if *Princes* would sit safe upon their *Thrones*, they have not much cause wholly to rely upon the uncertain humours of the *Vulgar*. Their best security is from *God*, from him they have received their Authority, and to him alone they are accountable for the use of it; the *peoples* concern is to submit and obey, not question their *Governours*, for however they Govern, the power can never *Escheat* or fall into *their* hands,

but

but onely into God's, whose ordinance it is. And thus much may serve for the first General head, *viz. the Original and Divinity of Government*, I come now to the Second thing propos'd, and that was to explain to you the *Doctrine of Non-Resistance*, *whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God*: and for this purpose I shall speak to these two *propositions*,

First, *That in no case we may resist*; and yet,

Secondly, *That in all cases we are not bound to obey*.

First, *That in no case it is lawfull to resist*: here is no exception in the Text of any person or occasion, but *whosoever resisteth shall receive to himself damnation*; nor do we find in all the Bible, any cases wherein we are allow'd to *resist* or *hostilely oppose* our Governours; neither do we find any instance thereof in all the *primitive times*, when, if ever, one would have thought such a resistance might have been lawfull, the *Government* being so *arbitrary* and *tyrannical*, and the miseries the first Christians endur'd so *barbarous* and *savage*, and contrary to all the sense and pity of *Humane Nature*. No! the great doctrine of the Gospel was *taking up the Cross*, not *taking up arms*; no such thing as a *Conspiracy* or *Insurrection* hath the least countenance in our Religion, for therein we are told to this purpose, *that to rebell against our Sovereign, is to rebell against God himself*, whose Ordinance he is, and whose Image and Superscription he bears. This is the avowed *Doctrine of our Church*, as may be found in the *Homilies* and other *Monuments* thereof; and our Law hath drawn up a *Declaration* for us particularly of the Clergy, wherein we assert it not to be lawfull upon any pretence whatever to take up arms against the King's person, or against those, who are Commissionated by him. These are our Circumstances, and of these we have but too much reason to be put in

in mind, there having been now of late three sorts of men especially, who have gone about to subvert this Doctrine: there are the *Atheists*, the *Papists*, and those that call themselves the *True-Protestants*.

And First, For the *Atheists*, These men cannot certainly be friends to the *Government* which is the *ordinance of God*, who disown the *Being of God*, and overthrow the Foundation of all Religion. *Religion* is the greatest security of the Prince, so that his Authority, where this is undermin'd will have but little force. It is not probable it should last much longer, than till these men can find an opportunity to juggle him out of *his Throne*, as they have endeavour'd to do *God* himself out of *his*. To resist their *Sovereign* can be thought no crime by them, who dare oppose the *great Sovereign* of the world, and bid open defiance to the *Universal Lord of all*. All the *obligations* they can be suppos'd to have to be true to the *Government* are *Fear* and *Self-preservation*, so that where this *fear* ceases, and they think themselves able to grapple with their Superiours, the *obligation* ceases too, and what then should hinder them from violating all Law, and planting the Crown on their own heads? And as for *Self-preservation*, if they apprehend any danger by the *Government*, this must supersede all other obligations whatsoever, that is, they may preserve themselves though it be with the ruine of all mankind: a principle that must needs be destructive of *Government* and *Humane Society*, for under this pretence of *self-preservation*, the greatest Villanies may be acted, and this *Fundamental Law of Nature* pleaded in their defence. In fine, the principles of these mens policy are wholly founded upon *self-Interest* without any respect to the *Publick*, or that *Community* wherein they live; Its no wonder then, there should be of this sort of

D

men

men in the present *Conspiracy*, men of *Atheistical* principles, of the Spawn of that great *Leviathan*, who for many years together hath been playing in these our waters, infested this our Land with the most lewd and pernicious practices and opinions.

But Secondly, There is also another sort of men who do but too nearly concur with these in their Sentiments about Resistance, and these are the *Romanists*. They do indeed believe and adore a God in *Heaven*, but then they have another upon *Earth*; I mean their *Lord God the Pope*. In him they place such a *Plenitude* or fulness of *power*, that he can Excommunicate and depose Princes, absolve their Subjects from Allegiance, and license them to resist, rebell, nay, and assassinate their Sovereign. * *Duarenus* tells us that it was determin'd by *Clement the 5th.* in a Council held at *Vienna*, that the *Pope* had power over all *Emperours* and *Kings*, and that whatever *Authority* or *Majesty* they had, did wholly depend upon the *Church of Rome*. And it is highly probable, that it was in token of this

* *De Sacris*
Minister. L.
cap. 4.

Sacrar. Ceremon. & Rit. Eccl. Rom. l. 3. p. 286.
Ed. Colon. Ag. 1572. onely at the reception of an *Emperour*, after the *Emperour* has kiss'd the *Pope's* hands and feet, the *Pope* rises a little towards him when he is to kiss his cheek.

Superiority over all mankind, that it is noted in the book of the *Sacred Ceremonies* of that Church, *Quod Pontifex Romanus nemini Reverentiam facit*; That the *Pope* reverences no body, *nemini mortalium*, no man whatever. To this extravagant height is the pretended Successour of *St. Peter* arriv'd, he is so far from imitating our *Saviour*, whose *Vicar* he would be thought to be, or *St. Peter*, whom he would have the world to believe was his *Predecessour*, that he refuses to give unto *Cæsar* the things that are *Cæsar's*, and will submit himself to no ordinance of man, neither *King* nor other *Governour*, though their *Authority* have the stamp of God upon it as visible as that of the greatest *Clergy-man*.

There

There are indeed those amongst them, that would confine the exorbitant Power of this *ancient Gentleman*; and bring it within the compass of *things Spiritual*, who yet do assert his power of dispensing with the Oaths and Obligations of Subjects in case the *Prince* be an *Heretick*, that is, according to the Roman Dialect, not of their Communion; and accordingly the *Pope* hath made use of this Authority. Thus he dealt but lately with our Glorious Queen *Elizabeth*: He Excommunicates her, absolves her Subjects from their Obedience, and as much as in him lay, arms them against her State, Dignity, and Life too. This *Bull* indeed, though it made a great noise, yet did little mischeif; for upon some experiments the *Papists* finding themselves too weak, to overthrow the *Establiſh'd Government*, it was desired that this *Bull* might be understood with some Latitude, so as not to oblige *Them*, as matters then stood; that is to say, they were not then able to put it into Execution. They will very plausibly tell you, that they are for obedience to Kings, nay, and that this obedience is due *jure Divino* by a Divine Right (so *Cardinal Perron*) but then they also tell you, that a *King* may cease to be a *King*, he may forfeit his Right to Govern, particularly in the case of *Hereſie*, and then to resist him is no resisting of a *King*. But thanks be to God, this *Sophistry* cannot prevail upon us; The *King* cannot forfeit his *Crown* to any but to *God*, *He* gave it him, and upon his abuse thereof or otherwise *He* may resume it, none else can lay claim to any power therein; so that it is *God alone* who must dissolve the Relation between *Prince* and *People*; and till *he* be pleas'd to doe it, it is not for us to attempt to break their bands asunder, and cast away their Cords from us.

Cambden E-
liz. An. 1580.

Religion can be no pretence to justify Rebellion, because the obedience we owe to Princes is not for their *Religion*, but for their *Dignity* and *Authority*. I confess that when a Prince does maintain and encourage the true *Religion*, it is a farther Motive to obey him; but the principal ground of our Subjection is his being the *ordinance of God*, his having received his *power from God*. The Powers of the world, when the Apostles writ, were *Heathen* and *Infidel*, and yet they tell us, they were *from God*, and enjoyn obedience and Submission to them, notwithstanding the diversity of their *Belief* and *Religion*. They had not yet learnt the *Romish* Doctrine, that *Infidelity* or *Heresie* are sufficient to dispossess men of their rights, they knew nothing of *Dominion being founded in Grace*, nor ever endeavour'd to introduce their Religion into the *Roman Empire* by the *Murder* of the *Emperour*, *slaughter* of the *Senate*, and involving all in *Bloud* and *Massacre*. These were Doctrines not found out till about seven or eight hundred years ago; from which time they have been pleaded and practised too, as opportunity has offer'd it self. Our poor Nation has had sufficient experience thereof, but very lately God deliver'd us from one of their *Plots* and *Conspiracies*, when lo! we had scarce taken breath, but we were assaulted from another Coast, by men who would be thought their greatest Enemies: and these are,

Thirdly, Such as call themselves the *True-Protestants*. I give not this name in scorn, but am heartily sorry, that any who go by that name, should ever have given occasion for what I am to say. But the matter of fact is plain, and not to be denied, and to palliate their Crimes is to make our selves accessory. We have had, with sorrow and shame be it spoken, such amongst our selves, who have equall'd,
if

if not outdone the very *Jesuits* in all their doctrines about Government ; we have had those who have resisted, and *resisted unto Bloud*, who have not onely *speculatively* but *practically* maintain'd all their *Principles of Disloyalty and Rebellion*. But thanks be to God, this is none of the true and right ancient *Protestant Doctrine*, though some of great note and place have but too much encourag'd it. The name of *Protestant*, however since abus'd and misappli'd, is no name of *Rebellion*, nor was taken up (as † some of the *Papists* insinuate) to *protest* against the *Authority of Princes*, but against a * *particular decree of the Papists*, made in opposition

† Particularly Florimundus Ræmondus. de Origine Hereſeon. l. 3. cap. 7.

* Viz. Of the Arch-Duke of Austria and other Catholick Princes in the Diet of Spire. Mezeray. An. 1529.

to the *Reformation* : and in that sense we would have it understood ; you must *protest* against *Popery*, but not against your *Prince*. Search all the *Confessions* of the *Reformed Churches*, and you will find they have taken particular care about this business of *Obedience to Magistrates* : there is † one *Confession* that reckons this Obedience *inter primi ordinis bona opera*, amongst good works of the highest degree ; and yet it must be confest that there have been some *particular men*, who notwithstanding this have by their writings, if not practices loosen'd the nerves of Government, and given but too much countenance to *Resistance* and *Rebellion* ; amongst which *Calvin* is reckon'd for one, and a *principal* one too. He was certainly a man of vast parts, Learning and Industry, and upon these accounts of deserved esteem in all the reformed Churches, and therefore the more likely to doe hurt, if his Notions were not sound and orthodox ; and it must be own'd that they were not in this matter, whilst he supposes such a power in the *Inferiour Magistrate as to curb the Superiour*, though he brings it

Suevic Confession.

Calvin. Institut. l. 4. cap. 20. § 31.

in

in with a *fortè*: perchance says he, the *three Estates* in their solemn Assemblies may have such a power. But what he onely thus cunningly or cautiously suppos'd, has been improv'd so far, that it has had a *fatal influence* over a great part of our *Christendom*. We have had books upon books writ to this purpose, that in case the *Supreme Magistrate* transgress his Duty, the *Inferiour Magistrate* may and ought to resist him; and in case both are negligent, the majority of the people hath power over both; and if these also prove deficient, then are the *Ministers* to come in, and thunder out their Excommunications; they also, it seems, are to take care *ne quid detrimenti Resp. capiat*, that no damage accrue to the publick. Now these principles, whatever *Authority* they may vouch, are none of the *Protestant Doctrine* but perfect *Popery*; they are no part of the *Reformed Religion*, I am sure not of ours: for part, and a prime part of our *Reformation*, did consist in asserting to our Princes their *Rights* and *Prerogatives*, against the *Papal* and all *Incroachments* whatever; in freeing them from *Vassalage* either to *Foreign* or *Domestick* Usurpation, and fixing their Crown above the reach of or *Pope* or *People*. We wish, we pray for good Princes, but if they should chance to prove bad, we think our selves oblig'd by the *Laws* of God and the Land, and by the principles of our *Reformation*, by no means to resist them. We dare not presume to stretch forth our hands against the *Lord's anointed*, for bad Kings as well as good are from God, and no resistance is allow'd to either. Neither the *Inferiour Magistrate*, nor the *Majority of the people*, nor the *Minister*, nor the *Pope* have any power upon any pretence to call them to account, who depend wholly upon God, and are the next to him in the world.

But

But in reference to us of this Nation, it is said that our *Government* is a *mixt Monarchy*, and that there is a *Co-ordination* in it, so that in case our Rights be invaded, we may resist, provided especially such in whose hands part of the Government is suppos'd to be lodg'd, do abet and lead us on. If by *mixt Monarchy* be meant a *Limited Monarchy*, no doubt but *ours* is such, for it is *limited* by the *Laws of God and Nature*; by the general *principles of Equity and Justice*; and our *Princes* have been pleas'd to limit themselves, by condescending to govern by such and such *particular Rules*. Thus indeed it is *limited* but not by any *Co-ordination*; We have solemnly sworn by the *Oath of Supremacy*, that the King is our *only Supreme Governor*, which plainly excludes all *Co-ordination*, for if he be *Supreme* and *only Supreme*, there are no others can challenge an *Equality of power or Government* with him, nor therefore have any thing to doe to *Judge or resist* him. O! that this Doctrine had been known and believ'd for some time ago, it would have prevented a great deal of that blood that hath been spilt in this Nation; and would to God that now at last, men would open their eyes, and embrace such principles as are pure and peaceable, and no longer suffer themselves to be impos'd upon by restless and designing men. Though they appear never so *Holy and Religious*, if they *speak evil of Dignities*, and tempt you to Scorn, and *resist the Authority* that is set over you, you ought to avoyd and abhor them as much, as if they tempted you to *Drunkenness or Uncleaness*, or any of the lewdest Vices of the profligatest part of mankind; For *Resistance* of our *Sovereign* is as expressly against the *Laws of God* as any of these, no pretence whatever will excuse it, but *he that resisteth* (whosoever he be) *shall receive to himself*

self damnation. Thus much for the first particular, *That in no case we ought to resist.*

Secondly, Though in *no case* we may *resist*, yet in *all cases* we are *not bound to obey*. Though we make the *Magistrate* to be the *Ordinance of God*, yet we do not Seat him in the *Throne of God*, nor expect that an *Universal Obedience* should be given him, in whatever he may please to command, for he is a man as well as we, and liable to the like Infirmities as we are; He is obnoxious to Errour, Passion, Revenge and all the disorders of Humane Nature, as well as the meanest of his Subjects. And then indeed we might be justly counted *Flatterers*, should we encourage men to obey him under such Circumstances: Though *Resistance* can never be *Lawfull*, yet *Non-obedience* may, and become a *Duty*; for notwithstanding that we exalt *Princes* so *High*, as to be *next to God*, yet we make *God* still to be *above them*, so that wherever the Command of the Magistrate clashes and interferes with the Command of God, we are in that case to set it aside, and *obey God rather than man*.

The *Minister* is confessedly the *Ordinance of God*, and yet if he propose to our belief or practice, what is false or prohibited, his Authority can lay no obligation upon us, but we may and ought to withhold our selves from Assent or Action: of the same Nature is the Authority of the Prince, if he enjoins us any thing inconsistent with the will of God, we are dispens't with our Obedience to him, by that greater obligation we owe to the *Supreme Prince of all*.

But in this case we ought to observe these two Rules.

First, *That we be fully assur'd, that what he commands is contrary to the Law of God*, and this *Assurance* ought not to be grounded upon fancy, conjecture,

jecture, Probability, long and uncertain Deductions, or the opinion of others, how *Religious* soever they may appear, but upon the *plain and evident Declarations* of God himself. We have a plain Command to obey the Higher Powers, and we ought to have as plain a Command to satisfy our own Consciences and the World, before we withdraw our Obedience. In things Dubious, the Authority of our Governours should go a great way, so far as to preponderate all the little scruples that may arise in our minds: For that is not properly a *TENDER CONSCIENCE*, that boggles and starts at shadows and Fantômes, the reflexions of Humour and fancy; but that is a truly *TENDER CONSCIENCE*, that is mighty careful, in the first place, of observing the *great Laws* of Religion; and these are *Obedience to God*, and *Obedience to our Governours*. It will by no means suffer some bye-Considerations to supersede our Duty to either.

In fine there is a Duty to God, and a Duty to man, especially a *man of Authority*, and these ought not to cross or thwart one another: Our Duty to God does not hinder our Duty to man, nor should our Duty to man, encroach upon our Duty to God. If man command any thing that God has forbidden, we are excus'd from Obedience, but then we ought to be *sure*, that God has forbid it: our Duty to the Magistrate being so plain, nothing but a *plain prohibition* from God will secure us, from being guilty of the breach thereof.

But Secondly, Another Rule that ought to be observ'd in this case is, *that supposing we are assur'd that we ought not in some particular Instances obey the orders of our Governours, yet when we withdraw our Obedience, it should be without Noise or Tumult*, it should

E

be

be *modestly* and *humbly*, with expressions of Sorrow that we cannot comply with them in what they require of us. We must not make *Satyrs* and *Invectives*, be daily libelling the Government, and exposing it to the contempt of the *Populace*. We ought not to make *combinations* and *meetings*, in opposition or defiance of the *publick Establishment*. For suppose there should be no actual design of Evil carri'd on in these *meetings*, yet they are but too apt to breed and nourish Discontent and ill Humours against our Governours; for it is a shrewd Temptation for men not to think or speak over-kindly of them, by whom they are fore'd into such *Clandestine Assemblies*. And these have been all-along lookt upon as dangerous to a State, especially to a *Monarchy*: hence the *Roman Emperours* were so exceeding jealous of these Συζώσεις and Ἐπιγεῖαι, of any *Combinations* or *Sodalities* of men amongst them. If therefore we must dissent, if the unhappiness of our *Education*, or *Complexion* or *Acquaintance*, may have caus'd us to imbibe principles that are not allow'd of by our Governours; if we cannot lay them down, let us at least retain them to our selves, and not endeavour to make *Profelytes* and Parties to the disturbance of the Government; if the case should so fall out, that we must disobey our Prince, let us do it with all the Humility and Care imaginable; let us be the more diligent to obey him in other matters, *as far as we possibly can*; so to satisfy the world, that it is not *Humour* or *Interest*, or any *external Consideration* whatever, but the *sole apprehension of our Duty to God*, that keeps us from complying with the Commands of our Superiours.

But farther, as we must not, obey the Magistrate, if he commands us any thing contrary to the Laws of God, no more are we bound to obey him, if he command

mand any thing contrary to the *Laws of Nature*, the *Dictates of Equity and Justice*, and the *Rules of Government*. There is a vast difference between *Non-obedience* and *Resistance*, we must not obey our Prince if he should impose any thing ill upon us, yet we must by no means resist him; but, if it will not otherwise be, commit our cause to God, and patiently suffer. This is that we call *PASSIVE OBEDIENCE*, a Doctrine that has of late been ridicul'd and endeavour'd to be hooted out of the world, as that which hath no foundation either in *Law* or *Religion*; Nay, we are told that the promoters of it are guilty of little less than *Treason*, and those that practise it are *Felo's de se*, guilty of their own death. The opinion it seems of these is, that in case we be persecuted contrary to Law, it is lawfull to *Resist*; if indeed the Law be on the Prince's side, there and then alone we are under the obligations of *Non-resistance*. But whether it be by Law, or contrary to Law that we chance to be persecuted, does not in the least alter the case, and notwithstanding these mens endeavours, it is *prayers and tears* we must still stick to. *To resist our Sovereign is as much against the Law of the Land as any Persecution can be*: And though Religion does not oblige us to lay down our Civil or Natural Rights, yet it hath no where given us leave to maintain them by force against our *Lawfull Governour*. The *Magistrate* is the *ordinance of God*, and if he should abuse the Power committed to him by God, though we are not in all things bound to obey, yet we are so far from being empower'd to *resist*, that even in this case, *He that resisteth, shall receive to himself damnation*. And this brings me to the,

Third and last thing propos'd, and that was to shew the ill Consequences of resisting the *POWER*. Nothing

less than *Damnation* is their due, that is the *Pay* they are certain to receive, and if they be willing to serve for such wages, much good may it do them, I hope you have a better sense of things, and are not willing to purchase *Damnation* upon such accounts. The *Original* word *Κεῖμα* we translate *Damnation*, is often put to denote both Temporal and Eternal Judgments; and both these are the usual Consequences of Resistance. This Life and the other have declar'd their abhorrence of such designs, and both worlds have been made the Scenes of their punishment. But to be more particular, let us consider the ill Consequences of Resistance;

First, *With reference to Bodies Politick.*

Secondly, *With reference to particular persons*, and that in regard of this Life and the next, their *present Security* and their *future happiness*. But,

First, *With reference to Bodies Politick.* This Doctrine of Resistance is the greatest *Incendiary* in the world, the onelyest way to put all things into Combustion, and fire even *Marble Kingdoms*; for if the people may upon any account resist their Governours, no doubt but they will upon every one plead the advantage, and with or without reason be daily embroiling the Nation; and what can be expected should be the issue of such like giddy and tumultuous proceedings, but certain Ruine and Confusion? if the feet will rise up against the head, and spurn it of the shoulders, the whole body must needs fall and sink into its Grave and Tomb. *Civil wars* are of all others the most destructive of the Peace, and very being of that Society wherein they are acted, and have usually been more *bloody*, as they have been more *inhumane* than any *foreign force* whatever. These sort of *unnatural dissensions* have laid desolate as many Countries as any

Hostile

Hostile Invasion, they have made them at least a more easie conquest to such as would attempt them. And I beseech you, let it be remembred (for it is a certain truth,) that more blood has been spilt, more men have lost their Lives and fortunes by *Resistance*, than by the most *Tyrannical Government*. The remedy has been found worse than the disease. A *Tyrant* may

destroy a great many Lives, but *Rebellion* has done more; where one hath slain his thousands, the other hath slain its ten thousands; so that upon the very account of humane Policy, if we would consult the interest of the Kingdom, and the saving mens Lives, *TYRANNY IS BETTER THAN RESISTANCE*, this latter having usually more dismal effects than the former. It is observ'd to my hand, *That in the late War*

Jovian.p.261:

more blood was shed in one Battel, than in all the Tyrannies and persecutions of the Nation since the conquest. And in the two Kingdoms there has been more Christian blood shed in Rebellions since the Reformation by pretended undertakers of defensive War, than throughout the whole Roman Empire in nine of the ten famous persecutions. Mr. Hunt in his * *Postscript*, will by no

p. 89, 90.

means allow us to remember our late troubles, but on the *Anniversary* of our *martyr'd Sovereign*, and we are very much beholding to him, that we may at least once a year vent our Sorrows, and reflect on these things. Let me beg of you then to take his grant, and if not before, yet on that day consider the dismal Calamities that befell our Nation, and whether they were not owing to this Doctrine of Resistance. Had not men been wheedled into a belief that they might lawfully resist their Sovereign, we had not been harass'd by so long a War, nor groan'd under the weight of so much and so innocent blood, which may God of his infinite mercy never lay to the charge of us or any of our posterity. But,

Secondly,

Secondly, Let us consider *the ill Consequences of Resistance, with respect to particular persons*, and that with reference to their *present security and welfare*, and their *future happiness*.

In reference to their present welfare, nothing in the world can be found more hurtfull to it; for it we consider them as members of a Community, whatever is pernicious to that, must of necessity be pernicious to them too. When a Storm is rais'd, one may be overwhelm'd as well as another, when once the Rabble is in arms, it will be no easie matter to persuade them to disband; they may seize upon me, or thee, or whoever comes next, be they friends or foes, and be as unmercifull to us as the bloudest Tyrant. But consider farther, how *unsuccessfull* such a Resistance of our Governours uses to be. There is a *Divine Providence* that guards the Thrones and persons of Princes, which is a greater security to them than the strongest *Military Defence*. This watches over them when they are asleep, supports them under the burthen of their Cares, and disappoints or confounds all the devices of their Enemies. The very thoughts and imaginations of evil are many times brought to light, and that by ways the most strange and unlikely. *A Bird of the air may carry the voice, and that which has wings may tell the matter*, Eccles. 10. 20. There are a thousand various accidents, besides the *general treachery of mankind*, which may defeat all our designs, and bring us to publick shame, a *Cart* or a *Scaffo'd*. The man that intends to be a *Traytor*, must at the same time arm himself to suffer the tortures of Death, the abhorrence of all good men, nay, and of the very Rabble too. Those, who it may be would have applauded and *ador'd* him had he had Success, will be the first to *Hiss* and *Scorn* him off the Stage of the World.

World. He leaves indeed a name behind, but such as will render him infamous to future ages; his memory is branded, his posterity becomes odious, and he entails poverty and dishonour upon his childrens children.

The first Rebellion we find upon Record in *Scripture*, is that of *Corah, Dathan and Abiram*, and no less than two hundred and fifty *PRINCES OF THE ASSEMBLY*, famous in their generation, men of *Renown*, *Numb. 16*. They were disgusted with *Moses and Aaron*, their chief Governours in things Sacred and Civil, and had a design to depose them from their Government; but what was the event of this? they and their accomplices were *miraculously* destroy'd, partly *by fire from the Lord*, and partly by the *earth's opening and swallowing them up alive*. By which signal Judgments, God did manifest to all the world the greatness of his wrath and anger against such attempts upon Authority, and has left it upon Record, to serve as an admonition even to *us upon whom the ends of the world are come*. Nor has the fate of *Traytors and Rebels* been much more favourable since, they seldom *dying the common death of all men*. But suppose they should escape here, and God for *reasons of Wisdom* known onely to himself, should suffer them to accomplish their designs, and go to their Graves in peace; yet there is no doubt but without a sincere and solemn Repentance, they shall be sure to smart for it hereafter, their punishment in the next world shall compensate for what they wanted in this.

They that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation. Damnation is a terrible word, and a terrible thing too, it is the horror of mankind, that which does the most startle and affright the world, and yet

no

no less a punishment shall be the reward of the *Traytor*: nay, if we will be so curious as to enquire into the occasion of God's making a *Hell*, we shall find it was particularly made for *Traytors*. It was, says our Saviour, *prepared for the Devil and his Angels*, Matt. 25. 41. and we know their Crime was *high Treason* and *Rebellion*, against their *Sovereign Lord* and *Creator*. So that this place of *Torment*, had its very Original and beginning from *Treason*, and therefore is the fittest place for such as are guilty of it, and thither they must go to be company for those *Revolted Spirits* their fellow-*Traitors*. And indeed what Crime can deserve it more? they affront the most publick and visible Authority and Ordinance of God, they destroy the peace of mankind, and as much as in them lies, dissolve all into Blood and Massacre. The greatest Thieves and Robbers, the most cruel *Banditi* are but puny Sinners compar'd to these; for they onely prey upon a few *stragling particulars*, but these set upon *whole Communities*, and are oftentimes the occasion of the slaughter of many *thousands*. A *Seditious* man is judg'd to be a greater enemy to mankind than a *Murtherer*, for though the *Murtherer* may be suppos'd to have his hands dipt in the blood of some; yet they cannot be many, whereas the *Seditious* man has his hands in the blood of whole Nations: and if to be the death or ruine of one man or family, be truly sentenc'd so horrid a Crime, much more must be the slaughter of vast Multitudes and the Ruine of Kingdoms. I wish to God, men would but seriously reflect on these things, it would sure make them lay their hands upon their hearts, and resolve if they have done wickedly, they will doe so no more; it would make them mighty carefull, how they asperse their Governours, defame the Government, and

and thereby stir up the rage and violence of the people, till at last, when it is too late to help it, they see themselves floating in a Sea of blood, and the Ghost of the slaughter'd groaning out Curses, and calling for Vengeance upon them; which however it may miss them now, will certainly one day overtake them: then all their colours will fall off, their pleas be overrul'd, and they shall go naked and *speechless* into Hell. I must confess, this is a sad and sorrowfull Subject, but it is *true*. Those indeed who have no sense of Religion, w'ont much value all this: but that men who *pretend to Religion*, and that in the *greatest strictness and purity* should not take notice of these things, would be to me wonder and Astonishment, but that I know that all that pretend to *Religion* are not *Religious*. A *truly Religious* man, one that has care of his own Salvation, should be sure in the first place to observe the *great Commands* of the Gospel, and those are *to give obedience to God*, and to *our Governours*, and that *for the Lord's sake*, not onely *for wrath*, but also *for Conscience*, considering that God has declar'd that the *Magistrate is his Ordinance*, and *whosoever he be that resisteth, shall receive to himself Damnation*. But to draw to a Conclusion,

I have been speaking upon a Subject, that was but lately very unacceptable, but both then and now highly necessary, so that to have baulkt this especially at this time, would have been in a great measure to have baulkt my Duty, and the *business of the day*. We are enjoyn'd at this time, to commemorate and bless God for the deliverance of our King and Nation, from men of *Rebellious* and *Antimonarchical* principles, and I thought I could not better employ my self, than in representing the weakness, falseness and mischiefs of them. And I now freely declare, that it is

F my

my Judgment, that the *Pulpit* ought to make satisfaction to the *Publick*, for what the *publick* has suffered from the *Pulpit*. It was from thence that *Guns* have been discharg'd, *Bombes* and *Granadoes* thrown, that set on fire our whole Kingdom; and is it not reason we should now at last be suffer'd to bring water to quench these *Flames*? It is sure more consistent with the *Ministry* of the Gospel, which is a Gospel of Love and Peace, and Reconciliation, to preach us peaceableness and Submission, and dependence upon the Divine providence, than to beat the Drum, blow the Trumpet, and alarum men into War and Rebellion. We have no Authority for such like *Military* proceedings, we are *Embassadors of peace*, not *Heralds of Hostility*, and herein we do but put in execution the Command given to us *Clergy-men* in the person of *Titus* who was a *Clergy-man*, i. e. to put you in mind to be subject to *Principalities and Powers*, to obey *Magistrates* and be ready to every good work. *Tit. 3. 1.* And is there not cause to do this, and now more especially since the discovery of this *HORRID CONSPIRACY*, to secure men from the like practices for the future, which is one of the great ends of appointing this *Festival*, as also to bless and praise God for delivering us, and our King from the attempts of those Sons of Bloud and Violence? Let thy name O Lord! endure for ever, and the memorial of this thy kindness throughout all Generations: We bless thee, we praise thee, we adore thee, that thou hast not given us as a prey to their teeth, but that our Soul is escaped as a Bird out of the Snare of the Fowlers, the Snare is broken and we are escap'd; But all we are to do on this day, does not consist in powring out our Souls in Hallelujahs and Songs of praise to God, but we must endeavour to impress upon our minds a greater sense of the *Divine Love*,

Love, and a greater dependence upon the *Divine Providence* ; we must express our Thankfulness to God, by our Charity to the poor, which ought to be a constant attendant upon every Festival; and by our Resolutions of a more carefull obedience to God and his Ordinance, I mean the King, than hitherto we have given them, not by prophaneness and Debauchery, Swearing and Intemperance, involving the Innocent with the Guilty, and a rude unmanly insulting over our Brethren ; for by this means we shall onely provoke the anger of God against us, and make him repent of the good he has done for us, and at last after all our deliverances give us up to Ruine and Confusion, which God of his great mercy prevent.

I shall add no more, but desire you would seriously reflect upon what has been said, which I do assure you has not been with any design to *please* or *displease* one party of men or other amongst you, but to discharge the sense of my own Soul, and was really intended for the good of yours.

I shall therefore conclude all with that Collect after the Commandments.

Almighty God whose Kingdom is everlasting and power infinite, have mercy upon the whole Church, and so rule the heart of thy chosen servant Charles our King and Governour, that he (KNOWING WHOSE MINISTER HE IS,) may above all things seek thy honour and glory, and that we and all his Subjects, (DULY CONSIDERING WHOSE AUTHORITY HE HAS) may faithfully serve, honour and humbly obey him, in thee and for thee ACCORDING TO THY BLESSED WORD AND ORDINANCE through Jesus Christ our Lord, who with thee and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth ever one God world without end. Amen.

F I N I S